

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-10 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15

RSC-01 L-02 H-01 PRS-01 CIAE-00 INR-07 NSAE-00 DODE-00

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7466  
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG  
AMCONSUL DURBAN  
AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES  
AMCONSUL LUANDA

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

KINSHASA FOR EASUM

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PFOR, UK, XA  
SUBJECT: BRITISH VIEWS ON RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND OTHER  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES

1. SUMMARY. FCO DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY CAMPBELL TOLD VISITING DEPARTMENT OFFICERS JANUARY 20 THAT NOTWITHSTANDING, MANY UNCERTAINTIES OF RHODESIAN SITUATION, HE EXPECTED DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN IAN SMITH AND ANC TO BEGIN SOON (POSSIBLY EVEN THAT DAY, JANUARY 20). HE CONFIDED

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HMG IS AWAITING REPLY FROM SMITH ON PROPOSAL THAT CAMP-

BELL AND TWO AIDES VISIT RHODESIA, POSSIBLY THIS WEEK, TO HEAR VIEWS OF BOTH SIDES. CAMPBELL ADDED HMG MIGHT SEND 3-4 MAN OBSERVER MISSION TO RHODESIA IF SERIOUS SMITH-ANC TALKS GET UNDER WAY. CAMPBELL CONFIRMED REPORT IN CAPE TOWN 066 THAT SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER NOW VISITING LONDON. SAID MULLER ATTENDING MEETING OF SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADORS TO EEC, AND HAS NOTHING NEW ON RHODESIA. CAMPBELL SAID FONSEC CALLAGHAN WILL WISH REVIEW SOUTHERN AFRICAN SITUATION WITH SECRETARY DURING COMING WASHINGTON TALKS, BUT DID NOT INDICATE SPECIFIC INTERESTS EXCEPT BYRD AMENDMENT REPEAL AND POSSIBLY NAMIBIA. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING MEETING AT FCO JANUARY 20 WITH AMBASSADOR EA-SUM AND AF/S DEPUTY DIRECTOR ARENALES, DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY ALAN CAMPBELL, ASSISTANT UNDER SECRETARY NORMAN ASPIN, CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEPARTMENT HEAD MOORE, AND RHODESIA DEPARTMENT HEAD ROBIN BYATT DISCUSSED RHODESIA, NAMIBIA AND OTHER SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES.

3. RHODESIA. (UNDERLINED). CAMPBELL SAID RHODESIAN SITUATION NOW UNDERGOING ONE OF VARIOUS SETBACKS THAT SHOULD BE EXPECTED BEFORE REAL PROGRESS IS MADE. HE SAID RHODESIAN WHITES ARE VERY UNCERTAIN ABOUT HOW FAST TO GO TO NEXT STEP -- MEANINGFUL TALKS WITH ANC -- WHILE ANC IN TURN IS IN GOOD DEAL OF DISARRAY, WITH ZANU HARD-LINERS POSING THE MAJOR PROBLEM ON AFRICAN SIDE. SAID SOUTH AFRICA AND ZAMBIA WORKING QUIETLY TO REPAIR SITUATION, AND THAT VORSTER USING HIS INFLUENCE ON SMITH, ALTHOUGH WOULD NEVER ADMIT IT.

4. CAMPBELL SAID NOTWITHSTANDING ABOVE, HE EXPECTS DIRECT SMITH/ANC TALKS TO BEGIN SOON, POSSIBLY EVEN TODAY (JANUARY 20). AS FOR UK'S NEXT STEP, SAID HMG AWAITING REPLY FROM SMITH TO PROPOSAL FOR VISIT TO RHODESIA BY UK TEAM, WHICH WOULD BE COMPOSED OF CAMPBELL, BYATT AND CALLAGHAN'S POLITICAL ADVISER THOMAS MCNALLY. CAMPBELL NOTED THIS WOULD BE FIRST DIRECT BRITISH CONTACT WITH RHODESIANS SINCE GREENHILL MISSION IN JUNE, 1973. SAID HMG CONFIDENT OF DOING THIS NOW BECAUSE OF TRUST AFRICAN SECRET

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LEADERS HAD DEVELOPED IN CALLAGHAN AS RESULT HIS RECENT TRIP. CAMPBELL EXPECTED SMITH TO AGREE TO VISIT, WHICH COULD TAKE PLACE AS EARLY AS THIS WEEK, AND ATTRIBUTED SHORT DELAY IN SMITH'S REPLY TO SMITH'S NEED TO TOUCH BASE WITH VORSTER. CAMPBELL INDICATED CALLAGHAN HAD INFORMED VORSTER OF VISIT PROPOSAL, AND THAT VORSTER HAD ENCOURAGED TEAM TO TALK WITH BOTH SMITH AND ANC. CAMPBELL SAID TEAM WOULD, OF COURSE, DO THIS DURING CONTEM-

PLATED 3-4 DAY VISIT.

5. CAMPBELL SAID THAT IF SERIOUS SMITH/ANC TALKS GOT UNDER WAY -- HE CALLED THESE FIRST PHASE OF CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS THAT WOULD LEAD TO CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE -- THAT HMG MIGHT WANT TO SUGGEST SENDING A 3-4 MAN OBSERVER MISSION TO RHODESIA. HE SAID CALLAGHAN UNDECIDED ON THIS, BUT HAS IT IN MIND, AND WAS ENCOURAGED TO SEND SUCH

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7467  
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AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
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MISSION BY NYERERE AND KAUNDA. RE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE, CAMPBELL SAID THAT CALLAGHAN, WHEN PRESSED HARD BY AFRICANS HE VISITED, SAID HE THINKING IN TERMS OF DATE AS EARLY AS MID MARCH. CAMPBELL SAID THAT PARTLY BECAUSE

VORSTER HAD STRONGLY ADVISED CALLAGHAN TO BE VERY CAUTIOUS ON DATE, AND PARTLY BECAUSE OF SETBACKS IN CEASE-FIRE, CALLAGHAN HAD DECIDED NOT TO SET A DATE, AND THAT WHILE HE IS WORKING FOR AN EARLY DATE, HE IS TELLING THE AFRICANS THAT HE IS NOT PREPARED TO COMMIT HIMSELF.

6. CAMPBELL CONFIRMED THAT SOUTH AFRICAN FONMIN MULLER IS IN LONDON, AND SAID MULLER ATTENDING MEETING OF SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADORS TO EEC COUNTRIES. HE SAID MULLER SAW CALLAGHAN ON JANUARY 17, BUT THAT ALTHOUGH MULLER WAS

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QUOTE QUIETLY CONFIDENT UNQUOTE, HE HAD LITTLE NEW TO SAY ON RHODESIA.

7. RE LABOR PARTY LEADER JEREMY THORPE'S RECENT ONE-DAY VISIT TO SALISBURY, CAMPBELL SAID THORPE HAD BEEN VISITING VARIOUS AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND HAPPENED BE IN KENYA WHO DISCOURAGED HIM FROM VISITING RHODESIA, BUT THAT KAUNDA URGED HIM TO GO AFTER CALLAGHAN HAD RETURNED TO LONDON. IN COMMENTING ON DISCOURAGING IMPRESSION THORPE RETURNED WITH FROM SALISBURY, CAMPBELL SAID NEITHER HE NOR CALLAGHAN CLEAR AS TO WHETHER THORPE'S REFERENCE TO SMITH FORECAST THAT MAJORITY RULE WOULD NOT COME FOR QUOTE TWO OR THREE DECADES UNQUOTE CAME FROM SMITH HIMSELF OR WAS SUGGESTED BY THORPE TO SMITH, WHO READILY ASSENTED.

8. CAMPBELL SAID ALL THIS LEFT HMG STEERING AN UNEASY COURSE BETWEEN AFRICAN LEADERS' INSISTENCE UK BECOME INTIMATELY INVOLVED AND SOUTH AFRICA'S JUDGMENT (WHICH, CAMPBELL ALLOWED, HE FELT OBJECTIVELY WAS QUITE GOOD) THAT UK SHOULD KEEP AN APPROPRIATE DISTANCE FROM THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, AT LEAST FOR A TIME, TO ALLOW THE PRINCIPALS, I.E. SMITH REGIME AND ANC, CHANCE TO ADJUST TO CHANGES REQUIRED TO ENABLE THEM TRY WORK THINGS OUT. CAMPBELL ADDED THAT ALL BRITISH ACTORS WERE SKEPTICAL OF CHANCES FOR AN AGREEMENT, EVEN THOUGH THE LUSAKA AGREEMENT AND CEASE-FIRE WAS A MAJOR STEP FORWARD AND FACT THAT VORSTER AND KAUNDA WERE REALLY WORKING HARD TOWARD A SOLUTION.

9. EASUM NOTED RECENT OAU DECLARATION ON STEPPING-UP ASSISTANCE TO SOUTHERN AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND RECALLED FRELIIMO PRESIDENT SAMORA MACHEL'S RECENT STATEMENT WARNING SMITH REGIME OF POSSIBLE ACTION AGAINST IT BY INDEPENDENT MOZAMBIQUE. CAMPBELL SAID SMITH DID NOT APPEAR TO BE TOO CONCERNED ABOUT MOZAMBIQUE. CAMPBELL COMMENTED THAT SCENARIO OF INCREASING VIOLENCE IN REGION COULD BECOME MUCH MORE REAL IF RHODESIAN SITUATION RE-

MAINED UNRESOLVED, AND CITED VORSTER'S WARNING TO CALLAGHAN OF POTENTIAL CATASTROPHE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

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10. RHODESIAN MILITARY AND SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE. (UNDERLINED). EASUM ASKED BRITISH FOR THEIR READING OF ATTITUDE OF RHODESIAN MILITARY. BYATT SAID MILITARY HAD BEEN QUITE REALISTIC IN THEIR APPRAISAL OF SITUATION OVER PAST FEW YEARS, NOTING INCIDENTALLY THAT MAIN PROBLEM SMITH FACES IN HIS GOVERNMENT STEMS FROM VESTED INTERESTS OF ENTRENCHED HARD-LINE SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS, WHO FEAR LOSS OF SENIORITY, PENSION RIGHTS, ETC. UNDER MAJORITY RULE. IN DISCUSSING ROLE OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE, CAMPBELL COMMENTED THAT VORSTER HAD MADE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR TO CALLAGHAN THAT HE WOULD WITHDRAW POLICE FROM RHODESIA AS SOON AS HE WAS CONFIDENT THAT THE CEASE-FIRE WAS HOLDING. CAMPBELL ADDED THAT VORSTER HAD TOLD UK AMBASSADOR BOTOMLEY THAT ONCE WITHDRAWN, SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE WOULD NEVER BE SENT BACK. ILLUSTRATING THEIR EFFECT ON MILITARY SITUATION IN RHODESIA, CAMPBELL NOTED THAT MOST HELICOPTERS IN RHODESIA ARE SOUTH AFRICAN, AND THAT RHODESIA HAS ONLY 4 OR 5 OF ITS OWN. (EASUM CONFIRMED RELATED RHETORICAL QUERY TO EFFECT US HAD NOT SOLD ANY HELICOPTERS TO SOUTH AFRICA. BYATT NOTED HELICOPTERS IN QUESTION WERE FRENCH ALOUETTES). BRITISH AGREED THAT THEIR FIGURES ON SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE IN RHODESIA AGREED WITH OURS: BETWEEN 1400-2000, BUT PROBABLY ABOUT 1600.

11. NAMIBIA. (UNDERLINED). IMPLICITLY ACKNOWLEDGING THAT US HAS LITTLE ROLE IN RHODESIAN SITUATION, CAMPBELL WONDERED WHETHER US MIGHT NOT BE ABLE EXERT MORE INFLUENCE THAN BRITISH ON NAMIBIAN SITUATION. SAID HMG LESS

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7468  
INFO AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
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ENCOURAGED ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN ROLE VIS-A-VIS NAMIBIA, BUT THAT FCO FEELS IT HAS LITTLE INFLUENCE IN THIS REGARD EXPLAINED THAT LABOR GOVERNMENT'S QUOTE UNCOMPROMISING UNQUOTE POLICY TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA LEAVES IT WITH LITTLE ROOM FOR MANEUVER AND NO TRADE-OFFS. CAMPBELL SAID CALLAGHAN TRIED GET VORSTER TO PROMISE TO SAY SOMETHING FORTHCOMING ON NAMIBIA, E.G. TO DENY HE WAS PLANNING DIVIDE THE TERRITORY, BUT THAT VORSTER WOULD NOT COMMIT HIMSELF TO ANYTHING.

12. CAMPBELL FELT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD PROBABLY SEE THE LOGIC OF A JOINT OR PARALLEL UK-US-FRENCH DEMARCHE, BUT SAID HMG NOW THINKING ONLY IN GENERAL TERMS LEADING TO HAVING CLEARER IDEA OF WHAT IT WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN NAM-  
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IBIA, BUT WHICH WAS NOT NECESSARILY INTENDED TO LEAD TO SPECIFIC ITEMS IN FUTURE DEMARCHE. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, CAMPBELL SAID HMG HAD NOT BEEN APPROACHED RECENTLY BY FRENCH AS WE HAD (PARIS 1384-NOTAL).

13. DEPARTMENT OFFICERS EXPLAINED CURRENT STATUS OF DEPARTMENT THINKING ON NAMIBIA ISSUE, CITING WORKING-LEVEL MEETINGS AND DISCUSSIONS OF POSSIBLE SCENARIOS, BUT INDICATED NO DECISIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN AND THAT CONSIDER-

ABLE FURTHER THOUGHT IS REQUIRED BEFORE SPECIFIC STEPS CAN BE SUGGESTED. EASUM STRESSED PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE OF NOT HAVING IT APPEAR TO AFRICANS THAT ANY FUTURE US-UK-FRENCH APPROACH REPRESENTED CONCLUSIONS OF TRIPARTITE WESTERN CABAL. NOTED HOW AWKWARD IT WOULD BE IF WE SHOULD FIND OURSELVES OBLIGED TO DEFEND MINIMAL SOUTH AFRICAN COMPLIANCE WITH RESOLUTION 366 IN FACE OF AFRICAN DISSATISFACTION WITH AND CRITICISM OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR NOT DOING ENOUGH TO COMPLY WITH AFRICAN SENSE OF THE RESOLUTION. HE CITED NEED TO INFORM INTERESTED AFRICANS OF WHATEVER DECISION WE EVENTUALLY REACH. BRITISH AGREED. ASPIN SPECULATED THAT WHATEVER SHOULD HAPPEN, IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT THERE WILL BE ENOUGH PROGRESS BY END OF MAY TO KEEP ISSUE FROM COMING BACK TO SECURITY COUNCIL.

14. AT ANOTHER POINT IN CONVERSATION, BRITISH INDICATED UK IS CONTRIBUTING 20,000 POUNDS TO FUND FOR NAMIBIA, 10,000 TO COUNCIL ON NAMIBIA, 5,000 TO NAMIBIA INSTITUTE IN ZAMBIA, AND UNSPECIFIED SUM FOR EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF NAMIBIANS, PRESUMABLY IN ZAMBIA. INDICATED ALSO THAT THEY HAVE STEPPED UP CONTACTS WITH SWAPO IN ZAMBIA AND ELSEWHERE.

15. PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES. (UNDERLINED). CAMPBELL SAID UK WILL NOT BE ABLE TO DO VERY MUCH FOR PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING AFRICA, AND THAT IT CONSIDERING VERY MODEST (UNSPECIFIED) BILATERAL ASSISTANCE. INDICATED THAT MOZAMBIQUE WILL BE ADDED TO LIST OF AFRICAN-CARIBBEAN-PACIFIC COUNTRIES NEGOTIATING WITH EC TO REPLACE YAOUNDE AGREEMENT, AND WILL AT CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS BECOME ELIGIBLE FOR ACCESS TO EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT FUND.

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16. UK-US TALKS. (UNDERLINED). EASUM ASKED WHAT AFRICAN ISSUES CALLAGHAN PLANS RAISE WITH SECRETARY DURING FORTHCOMING BILATERAL IN WASHINGTON. CAMPBELL REPLIED IN GENERAL TERMS, SPECIFICALLY INDICATING ONLY BYRD AMENDMENT REPEAL. HE CITED CALLAGHAN'S STRONG FEELING THAT ALL INTERESTED PARTIES ARE NOW AT A CROSSROAD IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND THAT A WRONG TURN WILL LEAD US ALL DOWN AN INCREASINGLY ROUGH ROAD. THIS, PM SAID, WAS THE ONLY COMMON FACTOR IN ALL OF CALLAGHAN'S CONVERSATION WITH AFRICAN LEADERS, INCLUDING VORSTER.

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